KÄRŞŅĀJINI AND KĀŚAKŖTSNA Hajime Nakamura

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examination of the character and thought of two scholars their thought been discussed and criticized, but their names have been referred some of the names of the early scholars have been noted, and not only has the period prior to the Brahma-sutra, since no literature at all of the Vedanta to also in works of other areas; thus in the following, we shall take up the impossible. In the Brahma-satra the fundamental scripture of this school know the names and thought of the individual scholars is almost completely the tendency in thought which we learn from literary sources, but even to thought of the Vedanta school during this period. We are able to consider the literature in other areas, we are able to learn in general the tendency of individual scholars then is, for the most part, not clear. However, throughout school itself has been handed down, it may be said that the thought of the those posterior to the compilation of the Brahma-sūtra and in relation to ing the early Vedanta schools, we can divide them into those prior to and of these schools have practically been not passed down. Generally classifythe extremely ancient period, the individual names as well as the thought number of scholars who advocated special doctrines among them, but, in tion in an unbroken line. Accordingly, there must also have been a great school line which follows them as sacred canon continued on without interrup-After the ancient Upanisads of the early period came into existence, the

SECTION I. KĀRŅĀJINI

In the Brahma-sūtra (III. 1. 9), it says:

"If it be said that corresponding to whatever conduct (carana) (in this world), (one is variously born in the womb), it is not so.

(The word carana in this sacred verse) refers indirectly (to the residual karma). So said Kārṣṇājini". And this distinction has been set forth in the following sacred verse:

"Therefore, the man who performs good conduct (carana) in this world may aspire to be able to be born in a good womb, i.e., that of a Brahmin, or that of a Kṣatriya, or that of a Vaiṣya. But the one who performs defiled conduct in this world, can expect to be born into a defiled womb, i.e. that of a dog, a pig, or a Canḍāla (a type of lowly people)." (Chānā. Up. V. 10. 7). In this verse, however, it is taught the man who performs good and beautiful conduct in this world, after he dies, will be born again as a member of one of the three upper classes, while the man who performs ugly and evil conduct will be born again as a very low and mean person or as an animal, but just what relationship this verse has with the teaching of

does not exhaustively receive the rewards and punishment of his karma and and after he has received his rewards and punishment there, again returns in accordance with whatever remaining karma they have. karmas, return to enter this world, and are born into the various conditions, Then, it is said that the individual selves accompanied by their remaining there nullify all karma, as there is still a small amount of karma remaining. down to the earth and is born again, while in the world of the moon, he death proceeds to the world of the moon, accompanied by his action (karman) That is to say, according to the teaching of the Five Fires, man after

it is not (meaningless)". That is to say, karma, which is the motive force be meaningless. Against such a criticism, it has been handed down (in the conditions, even the person who had performed good conduct previously in directly, because these rituals bring out effects, the correct performance of good position, consequently, "the remaining karma", while being based on the wherefore of actual performance of the rituals in the present world directly which can cause a person to be born into a good environment or a come into existence by dependence (upon the correct execution of the rituals), Brahma-satra III. 1. 10) that he answered: "Because of the fact that one can (ethical principles, ācāra) of behavior taught in the Brāhmanic canon would necessarily be born into a good environment; in that case, the precepts this world, since it would not be limited to that when he is reborn, must not descends from the world of the moon, the individual self is born in varying hold that in accordance with whatever remaining karma one has, when he conduct, cannot obtain good rewards, even if he carries out the rituals; so conduct in general is necessary. The man who does not perform correct By the way, such an interpretation has the following difficulty-If one

2. According to Bhāskara, "action" (Karman).

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a supplemental significance to be appended to the rituals. correct conduct" (Vasisiha-smrti, VI-3).1 Then at the same time, we can know that he had thought that the rituals are the most important essentials verse which says "The Vedas do not purify the man who does not perform for human life, and that the other ethical precepts amount to no more than it is said. Accordingly, Kārṣnājini had embraced the same thought as the

case, since he was a man prior to the formulation of the Mimāmsā-saira, difficult proposition in the present circumstances. 4th century A.D. But, to clarify in more detail the dates of his life, is a worked on and produced, he must naturally be thought to be prior to the and as he belongs to the period in which the various ritual sutras were being objection if all of these are thought to be one and the same person. In that was a man who had regarded as very valuable the rituals, there may be no And as a scholar of the rituals, his words have also been quoted in the VI. 7. 35) in addition, he was also a scholar of the ritual Mimamsa Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra. Even seen from the Brahma-sūtra, since Kārṣṇājini Since Kārsņājini has been referred to in the Mimamsa-satra (IV. 3. 17

SECTION 2 KASAKRTSNA

Theories of Kāśakrtsna are quoted in the Brahma-sūtra (I. 4.22).

Yājnavalkya is said to teach his wife Maitreyi in the following manner: To wit, according to the Brhad-aranyaka Upanisad, the philosopher

Verily, not for the sake of all is all dear, but all is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily,..it is the Self alone that should be seen, heard, reflected on and meditated upon." (Brhad. Up. II. 4.5; cf. IV 5.6.) are living beings dear, but living beings are dear for the sake of the Self. Self. Verily, not for the sake of the gods are the gods dear, but the gods are dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of living beings the worlds are the worlds dear but the worlds are dear for the sake of the kşatriyahood is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of kşatriyahood is kşatriyahood dear, but brahminhood is brahminhood dear, but brahminhood is dear for the sake of but wealth is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of wealth is wealth dear, Verily, not for the sake of the sons are the sons dear, but the sons are dear the wife is the wife dear, but the wife is dear for the sake of the Self. the husband is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of ". 'Verily, not for the sake of the husband is the husband dear, bu

great self, a supreme self? These questions had been discussed among Vedanta individual existence in the individual self, or should one say that there is a Is the atman (self) expounded here one body or does it have only an

I have referred to the three ancient commentaries of Sankara, Bhaskara and Ramanuja. 1. On the question of the interpretative reading of the Brahmasūrra which follows,

Based upon the Brahmasūtra III. 1. 10, it is quoted by all three commentaries

^{2.} A. Weber: A History of Indian Literature p. 140. Further, his name also appears in Panini's Grammar, Ganapātha 'upaka' under 11-4-69.

3. Patyuh kāmāya. This probably could be understood as 'because of the husband' or "for the sake of the husband." Other phrases also should be interpreted in the same

scholars from quite ancient times, but in the Brahma-sūtra (I. 4. 19 ff) it has been determined that this ātman is not an individual self but the supreme self. By the way, in the passage above, the word "ātman" at the first glance is explained as though it meant the existence of an individual human being, but why is that? On this question, differences of opinion arose between the three schools of Āśmarathya, Audulomi, and Kāśakṛtsna. The Brahma-sūtra (I. 4-22) only states:

Avasthiter iti kāšakṛtsnaḥ

(Because it exists, so says Kāśakrtsna.)

And for the passages in the three Commentaries on this, let us note their interpretations:

"Because this supreme self exists also by means of its state as the consciousness self (individual self), it is possible to begin the expostulation in this way on the passages (of the conversation with Maitreyi) by such a non-difference (between the supreme self and individual self." (Sankara)

asyaiva paramātmano'nenāpi vijñānātmabhāvenāvasthānād upapamnamidam abhedenopakramanam.

"(The relation between the highest self and the individual self) is not the relation between the primordial substance and the evolved. Nor does the individual self, which is absolutely separate and different, enter distinctionless (in the highest self) in the state of liberation. But the highest self, even prior to its liberation from the body (i.e. before dying), exists as an aspect of the individual self, and therefore by the non-difference (of the highest self and the individual self), we begin to teach (the passage of the conversation with Maitreyi)." (Bhāskara)

na prakṛtivikārābhāvo nāpy atyantabhinnasya jīvasya muktyavasthāyām abhedapattiḥ, kiṇ tarhy ulkramaṇāt prāg api jīvarūpeṇa paramātmano 'vasthānād abhedenopakrama iti.

"Because (The Brahman) exists as the ātman within the individual self which is his own body, we instruct on the Brahman by means of the word indicating the individual self." (Rāmānuja)

şvaśarīrabhūte jīvātmany ātmatayāvasthite jīvaśabdena brahmapratipādanam.

Since these three ancient commentaries thus give their own different interpretations, we are at a loss to decide which to adopt, but by other criticia we can, I think, ascertain the original meaning of the sutra.

First of all, since this passage in the Brahma-sūtra, lists the theory of Kāsakṛtsna after relating those of the other two scholars (Āsmarathya and Audulomi), his is the fixed theory (siddhānta) and, we can conclude, was adopted by the author of the Sūtra. Throughout the entire work of the Brahma-sūtra, whenever it lists different theories, it is a definite rule to relate

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the fixed theory last, 1 and, in this case, that the theory of Kāśakṛtsna is the established theory is also acknowledged by the three ancient commentaries.

Hereupon, the thought of the Brahma-sūtra, which will be discussed on another occasion is the theory of "non-identity, non-difference" in so far as the relation of the Brahman and ātman is concerned, and since this is accepted in general by present day scholars, Kāṣʿakrtsna also, who had been conformed to by the sūtra-author, must have adopted the "non-identity, non-difference" theory in the same way. Moreover, the word avasthiti is used in this Sūtra, and we see in other examples of usages in the Brahma-sūtra that this word is employed in the sense that 'it exists conditioned temporally and spacially's Accordingly, in this case, the supreme self, who transcends temporal and spacial limitations, assumes the form of the individual self, and appears in the experiential world,—this is called avasthiti. Accordingly, the individual self is not completely identical with the supreme self, but is one part of it. In the passages above of the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, the teaching which seems at a glance to point to the individual self, is precisely for this purpose, so Kāṣʿakrtsna has asserted.

An account which can ascertain such a conclusion is to be found in the sub-commentary by Vácaspati-mirśa on the Brahma-sūtra.

We see in it that in the sub-commentary on BS. I. 4.22, after relating the general views of the Sankara School that Kāsakṛtsna adopted the theory of non-duality; says, as a rejection of the assertion of those other men who follow the theories of Kāsakṛtsna, the following:

Ye tu Kūšakrtsnīyam eva matam ūsthāya jīvam paramātmano msam ācakṣus, teṣūṃ kathaṃ niṣkalaṃ niṣkriyaṃ śūntam iti na śrutivirodhah.

Sankara, in his commentary, has sometimes opposed this rule, but in those cases, his interpretation is mistaken. E.g., see the commentary on Brahma satra-bhāşya 1V. 3-7 ff.

Cf. Hajime Nakamura: Early History of the Vedānta (in Japanese) Part IV. Chap. 3, Sect. 4, I (p. 446 ff.).

^{3.} Thibaut (Intro.p. XIX) originally held that Kāśakṛtsna embraced the theory of non-difference (i.e., Nondualistic monism), based upon the sub-commentaries on Ṣaṅkara's commentary (ad BS. I. 4.22): since then, this assertion has been admitted by Indolcgists in general, but the supposition is not correct. Insofar as the theory of Kāśakṛtsna in the sūṭtra is said to be an fixed doctrine (siddhānta), Ṣaṅkara and his commentators stressed that Kāśakṛtsna's theory was nondualiatic monism, in order to combine it with their own theory.

^{4.} I. 2.17; I. 3.22; II. 2.4; II. 2.13; II. 2.36; II. 3.24; III. 3.32.

^{5.} Thibaut, Introduction and P. C. Guha, Jīvātman, p. 189 hold that this "avasthiti" means "permanent abiding or permanent abode within something," but this interpretation relies too heavily upon Rāmānuja's views. No other example agrees with this usage.

[.] Bhāmatí, p. 337.

he logically refutes the theory of the māyāvādin, the assertion: other hand, we find in the commentary of Bhaskara on BS.I.4.22, after the theories of Kāśakṛtsna" is meant 'the theory of Bhāskara". On the and) revelational scripture?" Hereupon, according to the sub-commentary activity, tranquil,' would there not arise a contradiction between (their thought Vedāntakalpataru (a work by Amalānanda), it says that by "the men who follow this to what is said in the Svet. Up. VI.16, that it is without parts, without teach that the individual self is a part of the supreme self, (if we compare "But, for these (scholars) who, based upon the theory of Kāśakṛtsna

presiding deity). This fact must by all means be admitted." tasmād anya individual self, which transmigrates through existences, is a part (of the īśvaras, tad-aṃśo jīvaḥ saṃsārīti balād abhyupeyam "The presiding deity is different (from the individual self).

as Vācaspati-misra has also acknowledged this fact. thought is based upon the theory of Kāśakṛtsna, but such an impartial scholar Accordingly, not only has Bhaskara himself admitted in this way that his Therefore it would correspond nicely to the account mentioned before.

Thus, from our considerations above, we are able to form the following

- self or is a constituitive element of it (amsa). This idea is also clearly asserted non-difference", and that the individual self is either a part of the supreme between the supreme self and individual self is one of "non-identity and Kāśakṛtsna has firmly maintained the assertion that the relation
- siderable force in one section of the academic world of the period around the 13th century during which time Amalananda had lived. ideological connection between these thinkers had been believed in with conwas again inherited and developed by Bhaskara. Then, the historical and The thought of Kāśakrtsna, after being adopted by the Brahma-satra,

and the supreme self, to Kāśkṛtsna*. the theory in BS. III. 2.29, which discusses the relation of the individual self even in later centuries. The Vallabha school, for example, also attributed established doctrine of the Vedanta school by all the members of that school Furthermore, Kāśakrtsna had been regarded as the advocator of the

his name has generally been handed down as Kāśakṛtsni.) of the Vedanta scholars, but he was also a grammarian. (As a grammarian In the foregoing, we have examined some aspects of Kāgakṛtsna as one

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study his work are called "pupils of Kāśakṛtsni" (Kaśakṛtsnāḥ). 1 Again, Vākyapadīya of Bhartrhari, it is said that: his study of grammar has also been called Kāśakṛtsna. And in the which he taught is called the Kāśakṛtsnī, and it is recorded that men who Kaśakṛtsni, as a grammarian, is frequently referred to, and the Mimāṃsā In the Mahābhāṣya, a work of the grammarian Patañjali (c. 150 B.C.),

aṇāntare)—Vākyap.III.14.566 (p.714). in any other work on grammar." (tadarham iti nārabdham sūtram vyākar-"The sutra which says 'tadarham' (Pāṇini, V.1.117), is not handed down

Apisali nor those of Kāsakrtsni had read and passed on this Sūtra."" And concerning this, Helaraja has noted that "Neither the students of

sutra related to grammar, and his work differed from the extant Paniniyan grammar, and, we can know, had been handed down up to the time of Bhartrhari. Consequently, Kāśakṛtsni, like Pāṇini and Āpiśali, was an editor of the

of three chapters (adhyāya).4 cal works, Kāśakṛtsni's book consists of several sūtras which are composed system, etc. are not clear, but according to the records of the later grammati-As this work has not been transmitted to the present time, its contents,

also noticed this fact. Then again, it is known that his work has some from the grammar of Panini. Grammarian students of later centuries have points in common with that of Apišali.6 On certain kinds of problems, this work includes rules which differ

Kaiyata ad V. I. 21. 6. Apišala-Kāšakrisnyos iv agraniha iti vacanād anyaira pratisedhābhāvas.

[&]quot;Bhāskarasya matam anūdya diisayati— ye tvityādinā"—Kalpataru, p.

^{2.} This corresponds to I. 4.21 in Blāskara's Bhāşya

^{3.} Belvalkar; Lectures, p. 167.

⁽Mahabhāçya, Vol. II, pp. 206, 249, 325.) His name also appears in Pāṇini's Grammar 1. Kāśakrtsninā proklā mīmāmsā Kāśakrtsnī, tām adhīte Kāśakrtsnī brāhmaņīti,

Chatterjee, "Kāśakrisna", IHQ. Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 224-227). duşkaranam/Kāšikā ad IV.3.115) anyena kriā Māthureņa proktā Māthuri vritib/Pāņinīyam/Apišalam/Kāšakrisnam/Kāšikā ad IV. 3.301). These materials are from Kshitish Chandra Pāņininā proktam. Pāņinīyam/Apišalam/Kāšakṛtsnam itil(Mahābhāsya, Vol. I. Pāņinīyam akālakam vyākaraņam | Kāsakrtsnam | Gurulāghavam | Apišalam

Apiśalāh Kāśakrtsnās ca sūtram etan nādhīyate.

from Chatterjee, ibid. See also Kāšikā ad V. 1,58; Belvalkar: Systems of Sanskrij Kāšakrtsnāḥ|(Candraytti III. 1-42). Pāņinīyam astakam sairam, tad adhīyaie astakāḥ| Pāṇinīyāḥ|dasakāḥ|, Vaiyāghrapadīyāḥ|trikāḥ, Kāšakrtsnāḥ (Kāšikā IV. 2.65). Apisala-pāṇinīyāḥ. Pāṇinīyarauḍhīyāḥ|Rauḍhīyakāšakrtsnāḥ| (Kāšikā, VI. 2.36). These are Grammar, P. 10. 4. aştakam Pönintyanı sütramltadadhiyate vidanti valaştaköh Pönintyöhltrikoh

vicarayati. Again, Ksīrasvāmin, in K_5 iratarangiņī (II. 60, S. 114) says that the past passive participle of the root δ vas according to the Kāšakṛtsna school is not δ vasita, but yam ilam necehanti Kaśakrisna iti Svami-Kaśyapau. (According to Chatterjee, ibia), viśvastah/And in the Mādhavīya-Dhātuyytti also, concerning the root śvas, it is said nighamust be śvasta. Kāśakrisnā asya (i.e. the root śvas) nişihāyām anitivam dhuh, dśvastah Kāšakrisnasya "Pratyayottarapadayor" iti sūtram tad vicārayati Pāņintyaņ tu pašedd dvigusamjāā pratyayottarapadayorbhavati. 5. Patasjali, in his commentary on Panin's Grammar II. 1-50, says: kim punar On this Kaiyata has noted as follows:

The dates of Kāśakṛtsni's life are not clear, but there is no doubt that he lived prior to Patañjali. And according to the Vārttika of Kāṭyāyana, as it has referred to the rules of Kāṣ́akṛtsni's grammar, he should be prior to Kāṭyāyana. Again, since there are many instances in which he is mentioned together with Apiṣ́ali, it would not appear that he lived in a period too far distant from that of Apiṣ́ali. Apiṣ́ali, according to an account (VI.1.92) by Pāṇini himself, was one of the predecessors of Pāṇini but Kāṣ́akṛtsni can be taken to be later than Panini. In which case we may conclude that he probably lived somewhere around 350 to 250 B.C.

Furthermore, Kāśakṛtsni, as already mentioned, is said in an account by Patañjali to have also been a Mimāmsā scholar. As if to confirm this, there had been handed down in a work of the later Vedānta school of limited nondualism⁴ the legend that Kāśakṛtsna was the author of the Saṃkarṣa-Kāṇḍa. However, just as the legend that Jaimini is the author of the Mimāmsā sūira and the Saṃkarṣa-Kāṇḍa has not handed down the true facts, this too might amount to no more than a mere legend. That is, it would appear that since the famous name of Kāśakṛtsna as a scholar had been transmitted up until later centuries, there may have originated such a legend spontaneously.

Further, a doubt arises as to whether Kāśakṛtsni and Kāśakṛtsna are not perhaps different people, but insofar as the names of both men greatly resemble each other, and as the learning of Kāśakṛtsni s has been called Kāśakṛtsnam, e

and his students are called Kāśaktṛṣnāḥ, I think that perhaps later grammatical schools, ¹ the Mīmāmsā school as well as the Vedānta school, have referred to Kāśakṛṭṣni as Kāśakṛṭṣna. Moreover, both the grammatical school and the two Mīmāmsās have an intimate connection as the two important types of the orthodox brahmanical scholarship from ancient times; the same author has, in many instances, studied both branches of learning, so that it would appear that there is ample reason to believe both persons as one and the same.

Again, Kāśakṛtsna seems to have also been both a Veda scholar and a scholar of the rituals. The name of Kāśakṛtsna as a Vedic scholar is mentioned together with that of Yāska³ in a work by Bhatṭa Bhāskara-miśra,* and his name is said to appear also in Bodhāyana's Gṛhya Sūtra. Again, the name of a scholar Kāśakṛtsni⁵ has also been given in the Srauta Sūtra of Kāṭyāyana, but in the same sūtra, it also refers to a theory by Bādari and that by Kāṛṣṇājini, both being scholars of the ancient Vedānta school. Even in later centuries, since there were many men who were thoroughly versed in the Vedas and in the rituals in general, and who wrote partial explanatory works on them we can judge from these facts that there should be no objection to think that either Kāśakṛtsni or Kāśakṛtsna as a ritual scholar was the same person who had the same name as handed down as the scholar of grammar, the Mīmāmsā and the Vedānta. In actuality, then, he being chiefly a scholar of the rituals, probably also studied the various other branches of learning.

^{1.} dvigusamijāš pratyayottarapadayoš ced itaretarāšrayatvād aprasiddhib. (Khtyž-yana, ad II. 1.51, Vol. I, p. 392) Cf. note 5, p. 17

^{2.} Chatterjee, ibid., asserts this on the basis of the passage in Kāśikā on VI. 2-36. Kāśakṛtṣṇa is mentioned in the upakādayaḥ, arīhaṇādayaḥ in Gaṇapāṭha, of Pāṇini's grammar but this will not demonstrate that he was earlier than Paṇini.

^{3.} However, further investigation is necessary to determine what the mimamsa in Patanjali had meant.

^{4.} In the work Tattvavārttika on the Śribhāşya, the following verse is recorded a quotation from the Tattvaratnākara:

Karmadevatā-brahmagocarā sā tridhodbabhau sūtrakārataķi Jaiminer muneķi Kāšakrtsnato Bādarāyagād ity ataķ kramāti il This differs from the traditional theory. On this Vedāntadešika, in his work Adhikaraņasarāvali, has explained as follows:

Vyttigranihe tu Jaiminyuparacitatayā sodašādhyāy upāttā, Saṃkarsaḥ Kāšakṛtsanprabhaya iti kathaṃ Tattvaratnākaroktih aira bramaḥ—saduktau na vayamiha mudhā badhituṃ kimcidarhā nivohas tūpacārāt kvacid iha ghatate hy ekatāt paryayogah l

On such a difference related to the problem of the author, Sesagovinda, who wrote the Commentary on the Sarvasiddhantasangraha, has explained that the Devatakāṇḍa, said to be a work by Jaimini, and the work said to be by Kāšakṛtsna are different works. No affirmative grounds exist which might permit this interpretation. (These sources come, however, from Chatterjee, ibid, and S. Kuppuswami fastri and P.P. Subrahmanya Sastrii A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Vol. XXVII, 1937. Introd., pp. III-VII).

^{5, 6.} This coincides exactly with the case of the learning of Apisali being called Apisala, E.g., Apisalam adhite (Vārtika 3 ad Pāṇini IV. 1-14); Apisala-Pāṇinīya-Gautamīyāḥ (Mahābhāṣya, Vol. III, p. 125).

¹ In the Kçīratarangiwī, written by Kşīrasvāmin, and in the Kavikalpadruma, by Vopadeva, Kāśakṛtsna is listed as the name of a grammarian. (Aufrecht, CC. I, p. 103; Aufrecht, Bodl. Cat. p. 175 b.)

² He was a scholar thoroughly versed in the Black Yajur Veda

³ A. Weber: AIL., pp. 42, 91.

S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 433.

⁵ A. Weber: HIL., pp. 139, 140. Indische Studien XIII, S. 398, 418